

This is home for a family of eight



Clarence W. Lee, Mayor of Kinloch



Among the dreams of Mayor Lee is this community facility designed by Donald P. Wilson (pointing) of Washington University under the supervision of Prof. George Anselevicius (on Wilson's right). Sharing in the deliberations are local officials (l. to r.) Woodrow T. Hughes, Napoleon Williams, Lee, Seay, and (on the extreme right) Mrs. Zoletia Mosley. Kinloch hopes to raise \$200 to \$300,000 in the St. Louis area in order to qualify for \$400 to \$600,000 in federal funds.

The Other Mayor Lee/*John Kramer*

"Integration is good; segregation is bad." "The health of children should be regularly checked." "Every municipality must have a budget." These and many other supposedly self-evident conclusions are often irrelevant in particular situations. A classic example of such a situation is the municipality of Kinloch in St. Louis County, Missouri.

Kinloch is an all-Negro community. Recently, the scholarly Governmental Research Institute endorsed the merger of Berkeley and Ferguson in a 115-page report financed by both cities. While the merger would totally enclose the City of Kinloch, the study did not say one word about Kinloch.

"The Other Mayor Lee" by John Kramer, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Missouri (St. Louis) points to the difficulty in applying rigid standards to uncharted social situations, it suggests the impossibility of applying an abstract liberal philosophy arbitrarily, and, in a rather pathetic way, it illustrates also the practical shortcomings of the Black Power notion.

The article is based on research currently underway in Kinloch. The research, conducted by Kramer and Dr. Ingo Walter, assistant professor of economics, is sponsored by a grant from the U. S. Health, Education, and Welfare Department, Social Security Administration.

MENTION "Mayor Lee" at a gathering of urban affairs specialists and you are apt to turn the conversation toward renewal and rehabilitation in New Haven, Connecticut. Richard C. Lee, New Haven's Mayor since 1953, has achieved national stature for reversing, in that city, the ubiquitous trend toward urban blight and decay.

While Dick Lee justly earns his accolades, another Mayor Lee labors to transform a unique community deep in the Midwest. Without nationwide publicity, and with none of the indigenous resources available in New Haven, Mayor Clarence Lee of Kinloch, Missouri, works to eradicate substandard conditions and end the waste of human lives in his city of approximately 8000. Clarence Lee is a Negro, and Kinloch has an all-Negro population.

In his most trying moments, New Haven's Lee never has to face the absolute problems that exist in Kinloch. Kinloch's Clarence Lee deals instead with acquiring the bare essentials of twentieth-century living. He fights for basics: indoor toilets, lighted streets, employment opportunities for his unskilled constituents, and rudimentary police protection.

The City

In population, Kinloch is second largest of the dozen self-governing Negro communities in the United States. It is not, as one might suspect, located just off Tabacco Road in some remote rural area. Instead, its 481 acres are locked solidly between two middle-class, white suburbs in the

center of prosperous St. Louis County. Although Kinloch is ecologically suburban, six miles from the borders of St. Louis City, it hardly shares the affluence of its immediate neighbors.

With the exception of its center, where Federal renewal funds have been used to erect 100 row-type public housing units, Kinloch resembles a Negro residential area in some medium-size Southern city. There are no tenements. The streets are lined with a variety of single-family dwellings. A few of the modest homes are well-built and neatly kept, but most were hastily put together and now are in various stages of deterioration. Many of the roads are unpaved. Vacant lots are overgrown and littered. At high noon on any pleasant weekday, idle men sun themselves in front of taverns on Kinloch's main street.

The town totally lacks industry, and the few existing retail establishments are small, unattractive, and generally offer high-priced merchandise. Less than ten percent of the homes are served by sewers. Most rely on septic tanks, drainage fields, or what sanitation experts euphemistically call "direct flow." Kinloch's vital statistics are dismal. Some random examples: 38 per cent of the city's families receive some kind of state welfare assistance, the median family income is \$3,075, 43 per cent of the residents over age 25 have less than eight years of education, and the adult male unemployment rate consistently hovers about ten per cent, over twice the national average.

A series of natural and man-made

barriers isolate the city. Indeed, Kinloch is so cut off from the surrounding white suburbs that the Peace Corps has used the town as a training site for its Liberia-bound volunteers.

To the east, the town of Ferguson maintains a one foot strip of land along the Kinloch boundary. Roads through Ferguson stop at this easement, overgrown with brush, only to start again on the Kinloch side of the barrier.

To the north, residents of the City of Berkeley have fenced their backyards at the Kinloch city limits, creating a sort of "Kinloch Wall."

At the western edge of the city, a major commuter highway to downtown St. Louis, and a 50-yard-wide power company right-of-way, effectively separate Kinlochians from those beyond.

Finally, at the southern edge of the town, a creek trickles along the dividing line. There is only one major road into Kinloch, and the few white motorists who wander in by mistake often experience a feeling akin to panic as they try to find an exit.

The History

There are varying accounts about the coming of the first Negroes to Kinloch. One story suggests that the town once was a way-station on the pre-Civil War underground railroad, and a few escaping slaves remained to start small farms on the unused soil. Until 1937, cities of Berkeley and Kinloch constituted a single quasi-community, an unincorporated area in St. Louis County, with whites in their section and the Negroes in theirs. The entire district was known as Kinloch, after the Scottish Baron of Kinloch who held first title to the land.

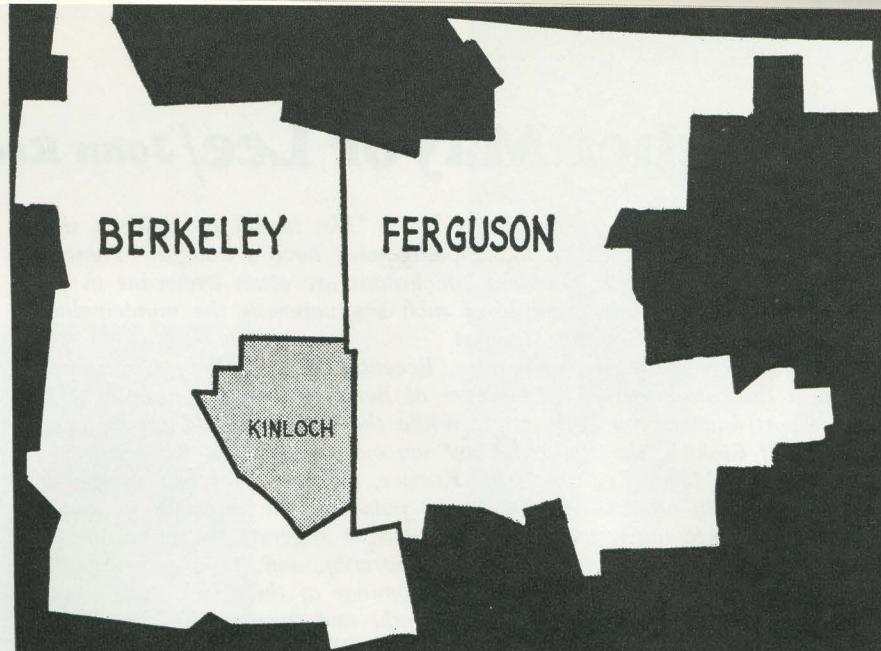
In the mid 1930s, Kinloch's whites and Negroes began to quarrel over the allocation of funds to the district's "separate but equal" schools. One of the Negroes' complaints was the reluctance of the white-dominated school board to establish a colored high school. With feelings running high, the whites' solution was to incorporate themselves as a separate city. They christened the gerrymandered municipality Berkeley, after the "Berkeley Orchard" subdivision in which most of them lived, and drew the boundaries to exclude

Negroes. Of course, most of the tax base went with the whites, and the Negroes were left with little more than the community's original name.

From 1934 until 1948, Kinloch's Negroes remained unincorporated. Necessary municipal services were provided by St. Louis County. Kinlochians who remember this period unanimously agree that County support was meager. They also agree that the County police force was made up largely of transplanted white Southerners, whose behavior toward Negroes hardly produced love and affection. To gain some control over their community affairs, and to obtain what one long-time resident calls "something better than nothing," 2000 Negro citizens of Kinloch submitted their own incorporation petition in 1948. Missouri quickly granted their request for self-government and, on the first night of autonomy, Kinlochians celebrated with a mass prayer meeting to thank the Lord for deliverance.

Under Missouri laws, an incorporated city must provide for most of its own community needs. Hence, incorporation was a gamble for Kinloch. Local autonomy requires a financial capacity and, ideally, experienced leadership. Kinloch had neither. The new city's assessed property valuation in 1948 was slightly less than a million dollars, by far the least satisfactory tax base for any incorporated area in St. Louis County. The first mayor was a hod carrier, attempting to deal with the problems of an infant municipal government on a part-time basis.

The city almost succumbed before it reached its first birthday. In 1949 a group of Kinloch pragmatists, disturbed at such makeshift facilities as an all-volunteer police force operating without patrol cars, petitioned to disincorporate. A St. Louis County judge ordered disincorporation, but his decision was overruled on a technicality by the Missouri Supreme Court. The disincorporation petition, fought bitterly by Kinloch's first city officials, barely lacked sufficient signatures. Without the resources for another round in the courts, the disincorporation proponents decided not to make another try by petition, instead to let the city fall of its own weight. Eighteen years later Kinloch remains incorporated, the cries for disincorporation are present but muted, and the weight is being lifted ever so slowly.



A merger of Berkeley and Ferguson in St. Louis County is now under consideration. Although the new city would completely surround Kinloch, it is not expected to be invited to join in the merger. Kinloch Mayor Lee doesn't see how his city could join since it "would bankrupt the other two communities to bring Kinloch up to their level in education, streets, and so forth. Only the federal government can meet the profound needs in Kinloch."

Mayor Lee

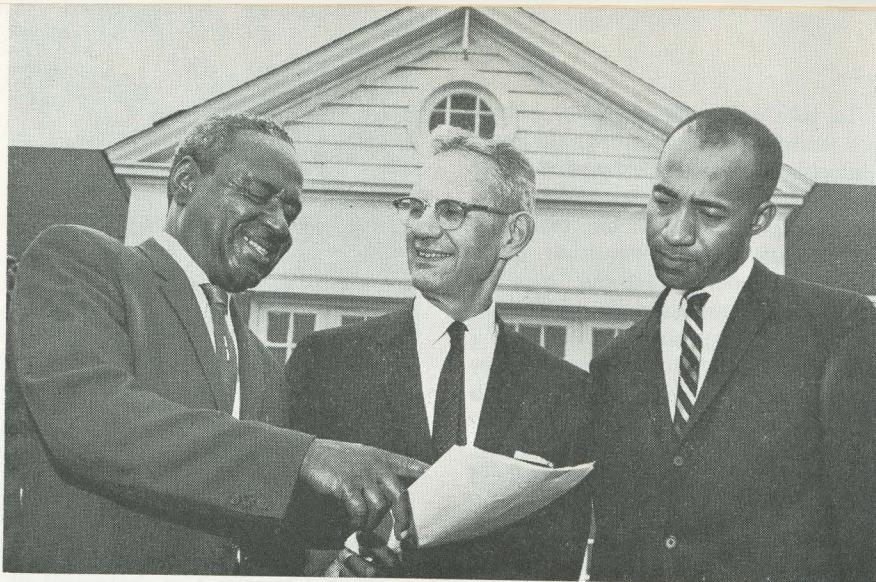
Clarence Lee is Kinloch's fifth mayor. He is tall, dark-skinned, and bears some resemblance to Jackie Robinson in the latter's thinner days. Within the community's ingrown society, where many residents take pride in tracing a three or four generation Kinloch ancestry, Lee is a relative newcomer. He was born in St. Louis in 1924, graduated from that city's then segregated Sumner High School, and moved to Kinloch in 1947 at the insistence of his new bride, a life-long Kinlochian who preferred suburban style poverty to the kind offered by Lee's native urban ghetto.

Kinloch, in 1947, was beginning to stir with the notion it could govern itself and Clarence Lee, working as a clerk by day and going to classes at St. Louis University at night, found himself caught up in the fervor. Like many other residents of the new city, he attended regularly the bi-monthly meetings of the Board of Aldermen. Within a year he joined Kinloch's incipient Young Democrats, a logical party affiliation after a boyhood spent in an apartment directly above Democratic Headquarters in St. Louis' North Side. Using his tenure in the Young Democrats and his newly-acquired position as vice-president of that organization as justification for a campaign based on personal political experience, Lee

ran unsuccessfully for an aldermanic seat in 1955. He tried again in 1956, this time winning the first of what is now a string of six consecutive victories at the city's polls.

After five years as Alderman, Lee was elected to his initial two-year term as Mayor in 1961. His platform stressed the need for community self-sufficiency, and his ability to attain it. However, his 134-vote plurality — out of approximately 3000 votes cast — probably was earned largely by a promise aimed at the twenty-four church congregations in town. Lee pledged to end a pressing social evil: Sunday morning street parades held by Kinloch's more exuberant civic organizations.

Since taking office, Lee has had to face all of the problems, and more, that confronted his predecessors. Sunday sermons now can be held without accompaniment of outside fife and drum music, but Kinloch still lacks the resources to maintain adequate municipal services. Nevertheless, by combining personal stamina, an instinct for public relations, and some imaginative fiscal tactics, the Mayor has managed to keep the city government operating. Above all, by aggressively pursuing funds made available through the Federal Government's war-on-poverty, Lee has brought about some basic improvements in Kinloch's frustrating condition.



A federal grant enables Kinloch teachers and school administrators to go back to school. All of their expenses are paid out of the \$214,755 budget. Discussing the University of Missouri-Kinloch School Project are (l. to r.) Dr. A. C. Shropshire, Kinloch superintendent of schools; Dr. Adolph Unruh, of the University of Missouri at St. Louis, and Norman R. Seay, Community Coordinator for Kinloch for the Human Development Corporation.

The Mayor's Routine

The starting time of Lee's day is a matter of opinion. At midnight he begins his bread and butter job as a spray painter at nearby McDonnell Aircraft Corporation. Eight hours later he assumes his \$50-a-month position as Mayor of Kinloch. Since the time demands on a Mayor are open-ended, and often involve evening duties, Lee's workday often approaches twenty-four hours. His only routine pause comes when he smokes his ration of one cigarette a day. He catches sleep when he can. On no fixed schedule, but when time permits, Lee goes home to "toss around a little," and at midnight reports back to McDonnell.

Last Summer, Lee started each day as Mayor by assuming the role of milkman. To qualify for funds offered by some of Federal anti-poverty projects, Kinloch must contribute ten per cent toward the total expenditure. The city is so lacking in financial resources that it cannot make the contribution in cash; instead Kinloch provides various services and is credited with dollar equivalents. Each morning shortly after eight Lee picked up two crates of milk cartons at the Kinloch High School and, in the course of the next hour, distributed them to the city's Head Start centers. Kinloch was credited with \$50 a week for this service and Lee jokingly refers to himself as the "country's highest paid milkman."

Head Start is one of a myriad of Federal projects now functioning in Kinloch, and Lee does whatever he

can to ensure their effectiveness. On his milk rounds he carried a supply of hardware, and stopped to repair toys shaken apart by overenthusiastic youngsters. If on-the-spot maintenance was impossible, Lee carried the item home to his workshop and repaired it in his sparse free time. When Head Start supplies were received at Kinloch's post office, the Mayor personally picked them up in his 1958 Chevrolet and delivered them to the centers. Time permitting, he accompanied classes on field trips, interceded for the teachers with higher authority, and checked the quality of the hot lunches delivered by an outside caterer.

Another Kinloch resident now makes Head Start's milk deliveries, allowing Lee to eat a quick breakfast at home before greeting his staff at City Hall at nine. Actually, morning greetings take little time because the staff, in Kinloch, consists only of a City Clerk, a Collector of Taxes, a police matron who doubles as telephone operator, and the Chief of Police. In contrast to Mayors of most other cities, Lee need not worry about efficiency of his secretary. He has none.

City business is conducted in what once was Kinloch's leading funeral home, a building that probably could make any list of the America's ten most inadequate city halls. Nevertheless, it is an improvement over Kinloch's first seat of government, evacuated in 1961 because rain water from an endless series of leaks

threatened to wash city officials, records, and all into the street.

The Mayor's minuscule office is at the end of a narrow corridor. The walls once were painted green but a good deal of peeling has taken place. Seated at a second-hand desk so small that he has difficulty fitting his legs underneath, Lee can gaze out his only window onto the uninspiring sight of an unpainted shanty next door. Along one office wall are two ancient wooden filing cabinets, also lacking paint. On another leans a black metal bookcase containing two telephone books and a four-year-old University of Missouri Extension publication entitled "Financing Missouri's Business." The starkness of the setting is illuminated by a bare fluorescent lamp attached to the ceiling.

A series of Kinloch citizens, on an infinitely varied set of errands, file into the Mayor's chambers. Lee may act one instant as a marriage counselor, trying to settle a family argument, and the next as a job broker, attempting to place one of the town's chronically unemployed with an anti-poverty training project. No receptionist screens his callers and there are no eager assistants to whom he can refer their problems. Between visitors Lee answers his phone, opens the mail, and attends the city problems that most urgently require his attention.

Lee, The Great Society, And Private Investment

The mayors of some communities have resented the coming of Great Society programs, viewing the instigation of war-on-poverty activities as conflicting with their own interests. Clarence Lee of Kinloch welcomes all Federal assistance projects with open arms, not only for the desperately needed financial relief they provide, but for the personnel that accompany them. With the almost \$4 million in Federal funds invested in Kinloch so far have come well-dressed and articulate people, most of them Negro, to provide professional services on a level heretofore unknown in the city. The Human Development Corporation, the local St. Louis agency responsible for administering Office of Economic Opportunity Projects, has designated Kinloch a hard-core poverty area and has established a permanent neighborhood office. The facility is manned by a Community Coordinator and a growing staff of nearly two dozen. Specialists such as business consultants,

family service counselors, health advisors, legal aid personnel, and home economists are initiating programs that the City of Kinloch could not dream of undertaking with its own funds. The immediate goal of the Center's staff members is to inform the citizenry of various federally financed opportunities for self and community improvement. They encounter occasional resistance from Kinlochians who resent interference from outsiders, albeit Negro, but they get only encouragement from Lee. In his eyes, the center does not compete with City Hall; it is providing basic services the city should offer but cannot.

Lee's outstanding achievement in six years as Mayor was the result of his active role in seeking Federal help. Beyond the obvious aesthetic liabilities that accompany lack of sewers, Kinloch's primitive sanitation system has depressed the value of property and prevented the investment of outside capital in the community. Estimates for sewer construction in Kinloch ran as high as one million dollars, infinitely exceeding the city's capacity to tax or borrow. With the co-operation of executives of St. Louis' Metropolitan Sewer District, Lee aroused the interest of Missouri's two Senators and the St. Louis area members of the House of Representatives, including those whose districts did not encompass Kinloch. Called to testify before the Senate Public Works Committee in March of 1964, Lee appeared armed with an up-to-date battery of Kinloch facts and figures which had been collected by the town's citizens on a volunteer basis. Documenting his case with these candid and distressing "self-surveys," Lee convinced the Committee members of Kinloch's need for immediate assistance.

The result was the "Kinloch Amendment" to the Federal Housing Act of 1965. The amendment provided for a 90 per cent Federal grant for sewer construction in cities of less than 100,000 population, located in metropolitan areas, and suffering unemployment rates 100 per cent above the national average. Up to now, Kinloch is the only city to qualify. In February of 1966, Kinloch property owners in the sewerless sections of town approved a \$100,000 bond issue to acquire the means for their ten per cent contribution. The favorable vote was 1,112 to 12.

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To take advantage of what Mayor Lee calls a "chance of a lifetime," Kinlochians virtually exhausted their city's bonding capacity. Therefore, revenue to meet Kinloch's remaining needs must be drawn from other sources. Hopefully, some of the money will come through private enterprise. Lee currently is negotiating with a nationally known garment concern, attempting to bring a 300-job manufacturing plant to the city. In a community devoid of local industry, and with the traditionally restricted employment opportunities for Negroes in St. Louis and St. Louis County, the garment factory would be a major breakthrough in Kinloch's battle for an adequate economic base. Then, with the prospective factory payroll as a lure, Lee hopes to develop a locally operated, if not locally owned, retail shopping complex.

Some outside capital already has come to Kinloch. Four subdivisions of modern single-family homes, selling from \$9000 to \$30,000, are in the final stages of construction. The 115 new units will not solve Kinloch's housing problems, but they represent a start. The developers are having no difficulty selling their houses, most of them to Kinlochians seeking better living quarters. The sale of these new homes has been so brisk that there now are definite plans to privately construct another hundred or so, as well as a more tentative proposal to build a set of 200 garden-type apartments.

Education In Kinloch

Some of Kinloch's ills, however, are not likely to be alleviated by private investment. The school system is a case in point. Various observers have termed Kinloch's schools the worst in St. Louis County. There are twenty-five school districts in the County, most of them enrolling pupils from more than one municipality. No one has come forward to consolidate their schools with Kinloch's, and the city must go it alone. *One result is the highest school tax rate in the County (\$4.23 per \$100 of assessed valuation) and the lowest per pupil expenditure (\$296.11 annually).* Other consequences, predictably, are ramshackle and jammed facilities for the town's 1,500 pupils, totally inadequate school libraries, underpaid teachers generally offering inferior instruction, and a complete lack of specialists such as guidance counselors and remedial reading personnel. In past years, the Kinloch schools have



As incomes rise, more families can afford these inexpensive but adequate homes.

had to ration such items as chalk, only to find some of the scarce sticks disappearing into the stomachs of hungry students.

When Clarence Lee assumed office in 1961, Kinloch's schools had reached their nadir. The superintendent, subsequently dismissed after eighteen years in that post, was under a St. Louis County grand jury investigation for misappropriating the district's meager funds. The city's educational program was so deficient that the State refused to continue its accreditation. The quality of Kinloch's schools literally had fallen below the bottom of the rating scale.

It would be unfair to give Lee total credit for the changes that have taken place in the Kinloch school system since 1961. The town's elected six-member school board is an autonomous body with no direct ties to City Hall. However, it is a fact that the schools have begun to move forward under the Lee administration. A \$155,000 bond issue in 1963 financed construction of a fourth school building, a nine-room junior high named after John F. Kennedy. Moreover, the city made a giant stride in education by replacing the former superintendent with an experienced professional administrator, Dr. Arthur Shropshire, formerly Director of the Education Division at Langston University in Oklahoma.

Of course, Shropshire's initial programs, prescribing such essentials as kindergarten, the services of public health nurses to conduct routine health examination, and "in-service" projects to upgrade teachers' competence, all require funds which Kinloch cannot provide. The city's only recourse has been to request financial help from the Federal Government. Thus far, approximately \$500,000 has been granted to Kinloch for improvements in its schools.

Opposition To Lee's Tactics

Despite obvious progress in Kin-

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loch, and at least the long-range prospect of economic self-sufficiency, Mayor Lee is not without his detractors. The most vigorous anti-Lee voice in Kinloch belongs to William Petty, a 39-year-old brick contractor who occupies the second ranking elective office in town, president of the ten-man Board of Aldermen. Running against Lee in the 1965 mayoralty election, Petty was soundly defeated by a two-to-one margin. However, he easily maintains an aldermanic seat in his home ward and, hence, remains a potent voice of opposition. A friendly bear of a man, Petty matches Lee in personal determination but, until recently, has devoted most of his attention to his own business enterprise. Today, Petty has one of the highest incomes in Kinloch and is personally constructing what certainly will be the town's finest residence, a ranch-style home that would do credit to the poshest white suburban neighborhood.

Although Lee and Petty have equivalent academic backgrounds — their two years of college place both at the top of Kinloch's educational elite — Petty is inclined to speak as a middle-class critic of an administration he sees employing lower-class political tactics. Preferring not to rely on the town's only newspaper, a bi-weekly which seems to criticize both the Mayor and his opponent with equal fervor, Petty turns out a steady stream of scathing, but well-reasoned, newsletters to publicize his position.

An examination of some of Petty's political ammunition is revealing. Most of his criticisms of Lee are easily substantiated and, in another community, one acclimated to the conduct of government as might be prescribed in a civics text, the Mayor likely would find himself confronted by an outraged electorate. In Kinloch, Lee can roll with the punch.

Alderman Petty charges that Kinloch operates without an annual budget, in violation of Missouri law and contrary to any reasonable notion of proper city management. In fact, Petty's basic allegation is correct. Kinloch has not adopted a new budget since 1964. An independent audit of the city's records for that fiscal year, ordered by Petty from his position as Alderman, revealed numerous shortcomings in bookkeeping. The auditors found that Kinloch did not maintain a general ledger, thus precluding an accurate statement of the town's assets and liabilities. Receipt and dis-

bursement journals contained incorrectly added columns, and did not cross balance. Records of many city transactions were missing entirely. However, the auditors found no actual cash shortages. Instead, they discovered an informal and virtually useless system of financial control.

Careful examination of the auditor's report confirms what most Kinlochians have known for years; the city's business is conducted on an *ad hoc* basis. Despite Petty's cries of outrage, this knowledge fails to excite Kinloch's voters, because it is generally agreed that any attempt to adhere to a systematic division of the town's inadequate income would result in overall devastation. Kinloch's property tax is within a nickel of Missouri's legal limit of 75 cents per \$100 valuation, yet the municipality takes in only about \$100,000 a year in revenue. Therefore, the Mayor prefers to rob Peter to pay Paul, with Paul being the areas in which spending appears to be most critically needed and Peter in those programs lower in priority.

While such items as badly needed road repairs await additional revenue, Lee concentrates city funds on more basic endeavors. Kinloch recently spent \$33,000 on a new fully-equipped fire engine, replacing a 1941 museum piece. The modern pumper, and approximately forty new fire hydrants installed at a cost of \$49 a piece, give the city adequate fire coverage for the first time. Street lights, costing \$35 each, have been installed at nearly every corner, but local residents must organize their own "light-clubs" to obtain illumination in the middle of a block. Purchase of a second-hand truck, coupled with Federal funds to pay chronically unemployed men for work on "city beautification projects," is facilitating clearance of two pieces of city-owned property as park sites. Meanwhile, Lee prods representatives of the War-on-Poverty, pointing out the fine print in new legislation that might offer Kinloch additional financial relief.

Kinloch's Police

A substantial portion of Kinloch's expenditures goes toward police protection, and herein lies the bell-weather in Alderman Petty's stock of criticisms. The days of volunteer foot patrolmen are over, but Petty and most other Kinlochians consider the police force woefully deficient. Petty claims that crime is rampant in the city, and that police laxity allows it

to flourish. On the other hand, Kinloch reported only seventeen crimes to the County records center in 1965, and listed all seventeen as solved.

Petty probably is closer to the truth than is the official record but, again, the problem seems to be largely financial, and one of allocating priorities. The Kinloch force consists of one full-time officer per eight hour shift, with assorted others, including the Mayor, available for part-time duty. The department's equipment is reasonably modern, but two-way radio communication loses its effectiveness when the town's lone on-duty policeman is out of his car. When a backlog of calls develops, Kinlochians sometimes must wait hours until a policeman is available. Then, too, Kinloch has not yet been able to afford cells for the temporary hold-over of prisoners. When a Kinloch officer makes an arrest he often must decide whether to release the offender pending trial, or leave the town entirely without protection while he makes the twenty-mile round trip to the County jail.

Shorthandedness, however, is only one of Kinloch's police problems. Members of the force lack any training except that obtained by practical experience. There are endless possibilities for malfeasance in a situation where police are underpaid and untrained. Indeed, it is difficult to find a Kinlochian who holds the city police in high esteem. A few of Lee's opponents have accused him of encouraging a corrupt department, in order to blackmail votes, if not money, in return for police immunity.

Alderman Petty has proposed the final solution to the police dilemma: abolish the Kinloch force and contract with the County for police protection. St. Louis County Police have jurisdiction over unincorporated areas and, for a fee based on cost of operation, will assume responsibility for patrolling those county municipalities which prefer not to operate their own departments. In June of 1966 Petty, again from his position on the Aldermanic Board, asked the County Police to estimate a yearly fee if the city decided to abolish its own force. A cost-finding study was designed, involving two weeks of experimental patrolling by County cars in Kinloch. Mayor Lee, citing Kinloch's pre-incorporation experiences with the County Police, and expressing fear of the psychological effect

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that a sudden influx of white officers would have upon the populace of his all-Negro city, suggested the experiment might set off a "little Watts." *The project was cancelled two days before it was to begin, when the County Police Commissioners officially claimed a sudden shortage of available manpower.*

Kinlochians Versus The Police

While Lee is reluctant to see Kinloch's Negro police force dissolved, its inadequacy has brought him his darkest hour. In September of 1962 one of the city's finest, a 74-year-old patrolman, shot to death a 20-year-old traffic offender while trying to serve him a summons. That evening, 300 Kinlochians picketed the City Hall, demanding an end to "Jesse James Law." Picketing soon turned to more dramatic forms of protest, such as a partially successful attempt to burn down the home of the police chief. As the disorder continued, youthful gangs of arsonists began setting fires indiscriminately. One blaze destroyed a portable frame addition to the already-crowded Kinloch elementary school. While Kinloch homeowners literally mounted armed guard over their properties, Mayor Lee requested help from the County and surrounding municipalities. A fleet of fifty white police arrived, some accompanied by police dogs. During the night, two County officers were wounded by shotgun blasts, although it never has been determined whether the shots were aimed at the men or the dogs. Sporadic shooting and arson continued for another 72 hours before the situation was brought completely under control.

After the unpleasantness, now referred to as a disturbance by Kinlochians and a riot by most white County residents, the Mayor promised to act upon the citizens' grievances. As a start, the elderly officer who had precipitated the whole affair was encouraged to tender his resignation. A study committee, made up of Lee and County officials, was convened to investigate ways of upgrading Kinloch's police. As expected, the committee's fundamental recommendations were for higher pay, better training, and the hiring of individuals with more suitable qualifications.

The Mayor has been able to effect some increase in police salaries, which

averaged only \$1.00 per hour at the time of the disorder, but Kinloch simply cannot afford adequate law-enforcement. As a stop-gap measure, three recruits recently were added to the force. If they survive probationary status, Kinloch will have two officers per shift. However, the situation hardly is healthy. The rookies will have to generate enough revenue through traffic fines to provide their own salaries.

Doubling Kinloch's meager corps of full-time patrolmen by no means exhausts Mayor Lee's fund of ideas on the subject. Scanning the horizon for Federal assistance, Lee sees appropriations being made for training programs in various occupational categories. Why not extend the definition of one of these Congressional bills to include training of the Kinloch police force, add the Federal training stipends to the officers' present salaries, bring police wages to an attractive level, ask the County to conduct the training and have this credited as Kinloch's ten percent contribution, and thereby get training and financial assistance in the same package? Local anti-poverty administrators react to this scheme with some bewilderment, but after seeing the sewer amendment through to success, Lee views nothing as impossible.

The Moral Dilemma

While Clarence Lee struggles to bring a better way of life to a community almost totally lacking in indigenous resources, some observers question the morality of it all. They raise the issue, valid at least in the abstract, of the usefulness of an all-Negro city in an age of integration. Kinlochians, by and large, are too enthusiastic about the coming of indoor plumbing and about lighted streets to criticize these phenomena as strengthening a segregated status quo. They are accustomed to isolation and generally see no immediate prospect of closer ties with their reluctant county neighbors. *Above integration, they desire immediate changes in their living conditions, even if these changes take place within the framework of an all-Negro society. Most Negroes can understand this point of view, but it is not readily acceptable to a small number of liberal whites who occupy influential positions in the St. Louis area.* These individuals tend to see Kinloch's attempts at self-sufficiency as ensur-

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ing the city's continued existence as a Negro ghetto. Some recommend disincorporation, although they are unable to project any specific integration breakthroughs as a result. Others call for merger with Berkeley and/or Ferguson, forgetting that neither of Kinloch's immediate neighbors is remotely willing to absorb 8000 Negroes.

Lee answers the well-meaning moralists with a cliche: he hopes Kinloch will become a place where whites will want to live. Thus, instead of suggesting that Kinlochians integrate Berkeley or Ferguson, Lee speaks of integration coming to Kinloch. In the next breath, however, he talks of the likelihood of an influx of low-income Negro families from a half-dozen small unincorporated Negro communities in St. Louis County. He predicts almost a hundred per cent increase in population in less than five years, estimating 15,000 residents, all of them Negro, by 1970. These individuals will come fleeing the outhouse and shanty style of living from which their own non-autonomous villages cannot escape. They will come to take advantage of a better way of life, in the only more attractive community that will readily accept them. If this wave of poverty-level Negroes arrives, and all that seems to block them is the town's almost total lack of available rental accommodations, they will superimpose a new set of demands upon Kinloch's sputtering economy. Certainly, they will preclude white immigration in the foreseeable future, if for no other reason than they will occupy all of the unused land.

Nevertheless, Kinloch probably will manage to cope with the problems posed by any new arrivals. Unlike Richard Lee of New Haven, Clarence Lee won't be able to pick up the telephone and call a brainstorming session of top City officials. Kinloch's Mayor will have to develop his own strategy utilizing, perhaps, resources made available through some yet to be passed Federal legislation. But who is willing to wager that Kinloch, and its Mayor Lee, won't stave off municipal bankruptcy despite the odds? After all, who would have thought in 1948, or even in 1961 when Lee took office, that Kinloch would survive into 1967?